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A FIFTH
ADDRESS
TO THE
FREE CITIZENS,
AND
FREE-HOLDERS,
OF THE
CITY of DUBLIN,

The Second Edition.



DUBLIN:

Printed for JAMES KELBURN in
George's-Lane, 1748.

[Price, one Penny.]

A fifth Address to the *Free Citizens*, and
Free-holders, of the City of *Dublin*.

IN my fourth Address to you, MY MOST ESTEEMED BRETHREN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS, I endeavour-
ed to lay down some short Sketches of the Origine and Foundation of Civil Society, in general, and some short Abstracts of the Principles of the *British* Government, in particular. I shall now, pursuant to my Promise, endeavor to explain the Institution of the *great Body Corporate* of the Nation, in the *three Estates*, of KING, LORDS, and COMMONS, and shew how far the Powers of Each, severally, or respectively, and of all Joyntly, extend, or are Circumscribed, by the ORIGINAL CONTRACT, or by LAW.

IT is not possible to establish any Government, without vesting some Degree of *absolute*, or *Legislative*, and *executive Power* in some Body, or in some part or other of the Community. The Wisdom and Virtue of our Ancestors shines, most conspicuously, in the Creating such a Body, and investing it with supreme, or sovereign Power, not only, strictly compatible with the *Original Rights, Liberties and Privileges* of the general Community, and of every individual Member thereof, but evidently for the Defence, Support and Preservation of such Rights, Liberties and Privileges, and for none other Purposes. In this they went further than ordinary human Wisdom generally reaches: They created Representatives, severally distinguished by the highest Marks of Dignity and Honor, and invested with full, *absolute, irresistible Power* of doing every imaginable Good to their Constituents, rendering it, at the same time, absolutely incompatible with their very Essence, to do any Evil. The People gave the Legislature, all the Power they had themselves possessed before; they could have given no more: For as Man in the State of Nature could only have had Power to dispose of, and to defend his own Person and Property, limited by the great Law of Nature, with this restraint, *that he should*

should not destroy or abuse his person or his Property, or Subject either to the Arbitrary or despotic Power of another ; and as, in that State, no Man could possibly have any Power over the Life, Liberty, or Possession of himself or any other, more than the original Law gave him, for the Preservation and common Benefit of himself and the rest of Mankind ; so this is all the Power he does or could justly give up, or transfer to the Legislature. And thus the Legislative Power is absolutely bounded and circumscribed. For, the Obligations of the LAW OF NATURE cannot cease in civil Society ; on the contrary, in a perfect Government, they must become more active, and be better and more strictly enforced and observed, and must eternally and equally bind all Men, as well Legislators, as others.

THIS may well be called a God-like Frame of Government, when all the Parts answer the end of their Institution, respectively : The Almighty Power its self, being limited, by the eternal Rule of Right, from doing any Evil, that being against the Divine Essence.

ONE of the *original* and *Supreme* Acts of Society must have been the Constitution of the Legislature ; which, being antecedent to all positive Laws, and wholly dependent on the Aggregate Body of the People, no inferior Power can ever alter.

OUR Fathers, at the Institution of this most perfect Form of Government, must have been well acquainted with all the known Forms of Government, in the World ; out of which, like Bees, that gather Honey from bitter and banefull Plants and Flowers, as well as from sweet and healthfull, they chose and Collected all that might be really usefull, or conducive to the *chief End of civil Society*, GOOD GOVERNMENT ; rejecting all that could possibly be prejudicial or injurious thereto.

THE several civil Societies, known in the World, are Governed, either by a *Democracy*, where the supreme Power is lodged in the People, at large, or vested in Representatives or Officers, by them chosen and appointed ; as in the united Provinces of *Holland*, the Cantons of *Switzerland*, &c. By an *Aristocracy*, where it is vested in the Nobility, in general, or in a few selected out of them, when

when it is called an *Oligarchy* ; as in *Venice, Geneva, &c.* Or by a *Monarchy*, where an absolute, arbitrary, unlimited Power, as well Legislative, as Executive, is assumed by, or vested in the Hands of a single Man ; as in *Persia, Turkey, France, Spain, &c.*

THE first, as liable to great Confusion and uncertainty, was justly rejected. The second, being likely to raise many Tyrants, without any regular Power to restrain them, was not to be trusted. And the third, as diametrically opposite and repugnant to the Laws of Nature, and promising such a Ruler, as was given of old to the Perverse *Jews*, as well as to every other unworthy, slavish Nation, since, as a Curse, was of all other States the most to be avoided and abhorred. It was, therefore, most wise and just to take from all these, so much, as might constitute a Frame of Government, as conformable and agreeable, as possible to the Law of Nature: Wherein all the benefits and advantages of these Governments, without any of their Evils or Inconveniences, might be found.

For this purpose, something must have been drawn from each of the *three Estates* before mentioned ; and thus an *Epitome* of the *Monarchical, Aristocratical, and Democratical* Governments was drawn and Instituted, in our *three Estates*, of KING, LORDS, and COMMONS, which Conjointly form the LEGISLATURE, or GREAT BODY POLITICAL of the Nation : For tho' to each is allotted certain distinct and proper Prerogatives, Powers and Privileges, yet the *three* are, indeed and in name, but *one Body* : For we know no *Legislative Power*, but that of the *three Estates*, which compose THE PARLIAMENT.

I shall better explain this matter, by treating each Estate seperately. And

I. OF the *Monarchical Estate.*

FROM *Monarchy*, our Wise Fore-Fathers contented themselves with taking little more, than the name and form. They chose an HEAD of the Community, to preside in their Councils, and to Execute their Laws, in times of Peace ; not to controule the one, or make the other ; and to conduct and command their Armies, in times of War. This *Supreme Magistrate*, and *chief General* they dignified with

with the *Honors* and *Title* of KING. All the Rights, Powers and Privileges necessary to Support the Regal Rank, and Sovereign Dignity of this great Officer, consistent with the great End of the Institution, now called Prerogatives of the Crown, were annexed ; with an absolute Freedom and Exemption to his Person, from all coercive or offensive Acts of Violence whatsoever ; except on his committing a Breach of the *implied* or *written* CONTRACT between KING and PEOPLE. In which Case, they have reserved to themselves, and constantly exercised, the Power of dethroning their King, and that of appointing and limiting the Succession to the Throne.

IN order to Ingraft these *solemn Contracts* on the Mind of the Chosen or appointed Sovereign, before he can exercise, or be invested with, the Power intended for his Office, and before the People *make* or *renew* any *Covenant* or *Contract* with him, by an Oath of Fealty or Allegiance to him, HE is obliged to enter into a *positive, Solemn* CONTRACT and COVENANT with THEM, and to Swear to THEM, at his *Coronation*, or Induction into the Regal Office ; to the following Effect ; “ That he will govern the
 “ People of the Realm according to the Statutes in Par-
 “ liament made, that is by the Representatives of the
 “ People ; and agreeable to the Laws, and Customs, by
 “ them established ; that he will cause Law and Justice
 “ in Mercy and Equity to be dispensed and Executed ;
 “ that he will protect and maintain, to the utmost of his
 “ Power, the LAWS of God, the true Religion and Pro-
 “ fession of the GOSPEL, and the GENERAL RIGHTS and
 “ LIBERTIES of all the PEOPLE, whether *Clergy* or *Lai-*
 “ *ty*, without Distinction”.-----His Prerogatives give him all the Authority, Powers and Privileges that are necessary to enable him to maintain the Dignity of his Character, and to preserve his Person and Family, as well as to govern and protect the People ; but not to injure or annoy the Office, which he holds in Trust for the People ; nor to prejudice or injure their Persons or Properties, in any Instance, in any degree : The first Principle of the Prerogative being, that the King can do no Evil or Wrong, to his People ; for all his Commands contra y
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to Law are null and void, and it is Penal in any Officer to execute them. His Legislative Power extends no further, than to the giving the Royal Assent, which is necessary to constitute an Act of Parliament. He may refuse, or decline giving his Assent, but his Denial to a Bill does not amount to an express Negative, for he only post-pones it, for further Consideration and Consultation. Neither House of Parliament can meet or sit, without being called by the King. For both Houses do not constitute a Parliament, till by the King's Writ they are called together, and till the *three Estates* meet, and the *first* opens the Session. After which, he is no longer to influence them by his Presence, or otherwise interfere with their Consultations, Proceedings, or Debates, till he comes again in Person to close the Session. The calling, continuing, proroguing or dissolving Parliaments is intrusted to the King, but by the unalterable Rule of Right, and by the Constitution of the Realm, Parliaments are to be frequently called, and are not to be interrupted in their proceedings, by Prorogation, or Dissolution, nor other means whatsoever; nor detained sitting beyond the time necessary for compleating the public business. The King's Proclamation can only enforce known Laws, but cannot make new ones, nor alter, repeal or abrogate any. Nor can his Patent or Commission authorise any Man to act against known Laws or common Rights, in any instance. As Head of the Commonwealth, he is of such transcendent Dignity, as to be a *Corporation Sole*, or Body Politic within himself; whence he styles himself, in the plural Number, WE or OUR. His Testimony of any thing done in his Presence is equal to any Record. The King is invested with the Sovereign Power of making War and Peace, Leagues and Alliances with foreign States; subject, nevertheless, to the Animadversions of either House of Parliament. The King can be but one, and therefore cannot divide, much less transfer or alienate the Regal Office. Nor can he bequeath it by Will to any. For whatever *Foreigners*, who can form no true Idea of our Government, or what other ignorant, corrupt *Slaves* have contended, Our King is no otherwise to be looked on as a *Monarch*, than in Distinction from *heptarch*

one of the Governors of the seven little Common-wealths of *England* before they were reduced to one, under *Egbert*, in the Year 819. Nor is the Right or Title to the Crown *indefeasible*, that is not to be defeated or made void, as some weak Enemies to our Constitution have asserted. It is instituted a *conditional, limited, hereditary Right*, which can have Duration or Continuance no longer, than the Trust *tacitly* or *expressly* reposed therein, and the ORIGINAL CONTRACT to perform it, are fully and fairly observed and kept. Whence it follows, that the other *two Estates* must necessarily have Power, as Circumstances and Exigencies require, to remedy, obviate or prevent the Mischiefs that may accrue to the Whole, from the Mal-administration of the Regal Office; to *reinstate* it, whensoever it becomes vacant by a total *Cessation*, by *Abdication, Renunciation, Resignation*, or by an entire *Failure* or *Extinction* of the Royal Family, for want of *lawful* Heirs; and to point out and limit the Succession. Without this Power, in these *two Estates*, there could be no *Ballance* between the KING and THE PEOPLE. Nor would there be any just provision against natural Accidents, or Defects. The King can supply Defects in the *Aristocratical* part of the Government, by a new Creation: The *Democratical* part is likewise provided for by Election: It would, therefore, be an Absurdity, to suppose a power wanting to reinstitute the *Monarchical Estate*, which being in a single Person, must be most liable to Accidents, Incapacities, Failures of Issue, &c. The Judicial Power of the Crown is committed or delegated to the Execution of certain Judges, in certain Courts, whose Power and Authority is so ascertained and determined, that the King cannot resume, lessen, or alter them, but by Act of Parliament. In many Cases the King awards Rewards and Punishments, moderates the Rigor of Law, and pardons Offences, against the Crown, but not against the general Constitution. But he cannot pardon Murder upon Appeal brought by a Subject. In granting Pardons for Felonies and other Offences, the King is limited by Justice, Mercy and Reason, or the *Original Law*. He may lay
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an *Embargo* on Shipping, but it must be only for the general Good; not to distress or serve any particular set of Traders. And tho' he has an Interest in every Subject, and a Right to command the Attendance and Service of every Individual, upon general Emergencies, yet can he in no wise discharge the Right of any Subject, command one Penny of his Property, nor obstruct him in obtaining Justice and Right, or any Benefit of the Law, though against his Royal Person. Flatterers affect to call the King *the Fountain of Honor* : But they may, with equal Truth and Reason, stile him *the Fountain of Laws*. He is, no doubt, intrusted with the *Sovereign Dispensation* of the *One*, as well, as the *Execution* of the *Other*. But both must be done upon certain Enquiry and full and just Information. The King creates all Ranks of Peerage, but the Actions of Men, alone, and these fully attested and approved by the *Voice* of the *People*, can truly enoble them. For the King's Grant is founded upon a Recital of the Virtues of the Person to be dignified with a Title of Honor : So that he who has not Virtue, to found a grant upon, may indeed be made a Peer, or a Knight, *De Facto*, but not *De Jure*. The King nominates and appoints Bishops, Judges, and all Ministers and Officers of the State, as well Civil, as Military. He may found or create Cities, Universities, Burroughs and all inferior Bodies Corporate and Politic ; and may give, or confer on them, every Power and Privilege, consistent with common Right and Law. He cannot establish one Body Politic to the prejudice of an other. Nor can he, in any degree, annoy the Life, Liberty or Property of the meanest Subject ; except for a Breach of the Law ; and then only in such manner and measure, as the Law expressly directs. It is not, therefore, lawfull for the Crown, or for any Officer thereof to demand or raise Money, but by the exprels Authority of Law. Wherefore the King is obliged to ask Aids of the Commons, to Support the Establishment, from one Session of Parliament to another.

The King can establish Fairs and Markets, in any place, upon its being made manifest, that it is not prejudicial to any other. He can Coin Money, and determine its Current Value.

Value. And, for that purpose, he has a property in all Mines of Gold, and Silver. He is virtually, tho' not actually, present in all the Courts, and therefore obliged to receive the Petitions and Complaints, and to determine the Suits, of all the Subjects of what Rank soever, who have an unquestionable Right to petition him upon all Grievances from his Ministers and others.

The whole Lands of the Realm are supposed to be the King's, originally, and granted by, or held from the Crown. All Lands, in which no Subject can prove a Property, belong to the Crown; as do those of Persons dying without Heirs. To him likewise revert the Possessions of such, as are found guilty of the unnatural Crime of Suicide, as well as of Crimes subversive of the Constitution, as Treason, Rebellion, &c.

The King is not only the supreme Magistrate, but the supreme Guardian, the Father of his People. Tho' all his Subjects are intitled to his Protection, yet the Persons and Estates of all Orphans, Infants, Ideots, and Lunatics are under his more immediate Protection and Ward.

THE King has some Privileges Royal inherent to his Person, in Suits of Law. No Action can lye against the King; but in its stead a Petition is to be preferred to him in Chancery. And it is the undoubted Right of the Subject to Petition the King, upon any public Grievance, or where he is privately injured by any Officer of the Crown, especially when agrieved by the Sentence or Decree of any of his Judges, in the Courts of Justice. No Prescription of Time runs against the King; nor is he within the Statutes of Limitation of Actions. No Possession or Entry can bar the Crown. The King may sue in what Court he chuses; but he cannot be non-suit, because he is virtually, tho' not actually, present, in all the Courts. The King is not to be deemed a Minor, tho' of non-age; For in him the Law will see no Defect, Negligence, or Folly.

The Queen, as the King's Consort, has equal Duty and Respect paid Her, with the King. She has a Privilege above all other Women in the Realm; to wit, that of purchasing and selling Lands and Goods, and of pleading or being impleaded in the Courts of Law, in her own Name,

Name, as much as if she were in the Law Term, *Feme Sole*, a single or unmarried Woman.

I have here summed up the principal Parts of the *Lawful* Powers and Privileges, called the Prerogatives, of our King, with their *Lawful* Mears and Bounds. It is further allowed, that wheresoever the national Law is silent, the King may do any thing, that is found consistent with the *Original Law*, for the safety and Welfare of the Nation, and for the Honor and Interest of the Crown; or in other Words, tending to the great end of the Institution of this, and of every other, civil Society, *Good Government*. If the Prerogative of the Crown be more extensive, it must appear so by the Records of Common Law; which has so limited and ascertained the Royal Prerogatives, that they cannot take away, nor prejudice, the Inheritance of any Subject: And the best Inheritance any Subject can have, is the Law of the Realm, by which his Life, Liberty and Property are secured. I only contend for the regal Prerogative's, being *limited*. The King's Power is, certainly, in no Instance, *unlimited* or *absolute*; it can be but *Fiduciary* and *Executive*: For, in the Execution of the Regal Office, he can have no *will* or *Power*, but what is derived from JUSTICE and LAW, and whenever he Acts upon other Principles, he *degrades* himself.

THE Power and Prerogatives of the Crown being laid down, it is necessary to shew the great Regard the Constitution pays the King. He is the *Head* of the *Body Politic*, and not only the *first*, but deemed the *most excellent* of the *three Estates*. As it is not left in the Power of the King to injure or wrong his Subjects, so, it is just and necessary to put it out of the Power of the Subjects to dishonor or annoy the Sovereign. For this Reason, besides the high Privileges annexed to the Crown, in Suits at Law, Crimes against the King or Queen, or presumptive Heir of the Crown are punished further and more rigorously, than any others. As for Example; to compass or imagine, the Death, restraint or bodily prejudice of the King, Queen or their Heir Apparent; to Prophesy the King's Death; to violate the King's Consort, or that of his eldest Son

Son, or his eldest Daughter, unmarried; To commit any hostile Act against the King; or to join with, or Aid his Enemies; to incite Rebellion or Invasion; to counterfeit the King's great or privy Seal, or his Coin; To kill any one of the King's Judges, who are his Representatives, in the Execution of his Office; to call the King's Right and Title to the Throne in Question; to declare in Favor of the Pretender; to Inlist as a Soldier to serve any foreign Power; to oppose, by Force of Arms, the Execution of the King's lawful Commands and the Authority of his Sheriffs, Constables, and other civil Officers; are judged the highest Crimes and Misdemeanors by our Law; by which the Offenders are liable to be *drawn, hanged and quartered*, and to a *Forfeiture* of Estates and Goods.

I am very sensible, that some of the former Positions will stagger some weak, ignorant Minds, as if they were Introductive of some Innovation in our System of Government. I know many of the grovelling *Word-Catchers*, who Prosecute me, and seek to intangle me in my Speech, will scan this over with the utmost Perversion and Malignity. ----- Unhappy Wretches! who live upon the Spoils of their Country! and seek for Shelter in the Furrows and Chasms made in a broken Constitution! Who know that Flattery, Corruption and Slavery have poisoned the State! Confess it, and contentedly lick their Chains, to solace the Galls they have made! Such are fit only for Yokes and Bondage! It is a pitty they should be set Free. They have long *chosen Darknes rather than Light, because their deeds were Evil*; and they are so used to *sit and Work in Darknes*, that the *Light* must offend them. But, thank Providence, we are not all of this Mold. And while there is one honest Soul, who thirsts for Liberty, let it be my Task to lead him, till he finds a better Guide, thro' Crowds of *dignified Slaves, in gilded Fetters*, or the Multitude, who seek to be such; to the Fountain of *Truth and Liberty*.

No Man, let his Pretensions, or his Places, be what they will, loves his Country better than I. It is this that prompts me to attempt the Restoration of her Constitution to its natural Strength and Vigor. And this, as I apprehend

prehend, is best done, by shewing the Respective Offices and Duty of every part of the Body Politic, as the only means to make it answer, and keep up to, the noble Ends of its Institution.

While our Kings were permitted to *See, Feel, Hear* and *Understand* with their proper Organs, these Positions were not Strange. The true Lovers of our Constitution, strongly inculcated these Principles, and rung them in the Ears of the Sovereign, upon every Occasion.

But a too long and too intimate Intercourse with certain *polite*, other wise, *servile* Nations, has perverted our very Language, as well as our Morals. From them we have learned among many other, now, *fashionable*, and, consequently, *genteel* Vices, that most abominable and baneful Vice, Flattery. A Man must have a most uncommon fund of Sense and Virtue to be full proof against this sweet, Subtil Poison. The good Man, supported by his conscious Integrity, does not want it, and of course despises it; but it is the only comfort and support the bad Man can have. He therefore ever keeps a band of servile Flatterers, those most base and destructive Prostitutes, in full pay. These pernicious Vermin always pursue Men in Power; and wherever they have gained Attention, have seldom failed in undoing the unhappy Object of their Adulation.

This is fully evinced in the Histories of most Nations, Antient as well as Modern; but most evidently, by many Instances in the *British* History. Such Kings, as kept free of Flatterers, held their Ears open to the calls of Truth and Liberty, their Eyes intent upon the Laws, and their Hearts upon the general good and security of the Constitution of their Country, never failed of establishing their Thrones upon, that only sure and lasting Foundation, the Affections of their People; and have left such lasting Monuments of their Fame, as must render their Memories dear to latest Posterity: Whereas those, who have encouraged Flatterers, the most expert of which have always been Foreigners, mostly *French* Men, have led most miserable Lives, in the worst State of Warfare; became suspected, or avowed Enemies to their People, and were, in Return, hated, despised and opposed by

by them ; and in the End, were often brought to some disgraceful State of Exile, and sometimes, if they lived long enough for it, and were not reclaimed, actually dethroned, or brought to some ignominious Death. I need not mention the Heroes or Heroines of the former Class, least I may be suspected of bordering upon Flattering the Dead, or the Living, or the living in the Dead. Besides it is needless ; their Fame can never die. But least the later, should want an Index to the many Monuments of Infamy and Disgrace they have left, let me Name some of those Tyrants, who, most audaciously and openly, invaded the Rights of their People, and broke the *original Compact*, and every Bond Politic, Moral or Religious, that should have restrained them within their proper Provinces. I shall not trouble you with going further back, than the *Norman Invasion*, commonly and falsely called the Conquest, and you will find the black, hateful List stands, nearly, thus ; *William* the first, *John*, *Henry* the third, *Edward* the second, *Richard* the second, *Charles* the first, *Charles* the second and *James* the second. These Kings by following the false and evil Counsels of favourite Foreigners and Flatterers, in attempting to enslave the People, and to overturn the Constitution, wrought their own Destruction and Condemnation. And the People, by being put to the necessity of exerting their natural Strength, in their own Defence, were always happily able to overturn the Tyranny, and consequently acquired a renewal of their Power and Liberties, or an extent of their Barrier, by the struggle with their Tyrants. Had our virtuous Ancestors tamely borne the Tyranny and Usurpation of their Kings, and not warmly and vigorously opposed every Tendency to Slavery, there is nothing more probable, than that we should have been all *Bondsmen* and *Slaves* instead of *Freemen*, to this Day.--Hence take timely warning.

It may not be improper to observe here, that the now, ill-understood and much abused Party Words, *Whig* and *Tory*, took rise in one of these Struggles. Those who opposed the Crown's exercising, or assuming, anticonstitutional, or illegal Powers, were called *Whigs* ; and those, who were for extending the Prerogative to absolute Power,

er, were called *Tories*. But these have of late become party Appellations, void of the original Sense and Meaning. So that you will find *absolute Tories* among those, that are now called *Whigs*, and *downright Whigs* among many of those, now called *Tories*. Let me therefore recommend it to you, to explode these now unmeaning Words. And, as it may prove necessary to keep up the like Distinction, give me leave to recommend two more expressive Appellations, for the two Parties, of which our Community is composed. Those, that are for keeping the *Head*, as well, as every *Member* of the *Body Politic* to its respective just and legal Sphere and Function, strictly and regularly, are true Friends to our Establishment, and may, with due propriety, be called **CONSTITUTIONISTS**; and those, who are for extending the Powers of the *Head* or *Members* of the *Body Politic*, beyond the Bounds of Law and Equity; or for unjustly or unlawfully curtailing the just Powers or Privileges of either, must be palpable Enemies to our Government, and may, therefore, be justly called **ANTI-CONSTITUTIONISTS**. These Denominations, in my humble Apprehension, take in all Parties of all Religions and Sects among us, and comprehend the only Distinction necessary, or adviseable to be kept up in our Society.

LET those pliant Temporisers, who are for advancing or stretching the Power of the Crown, beyond the Limits circumscribed by Law, but consider the evil Tendency of their Flattery or passive Disposition. If Incroachments from the Crown or its Ministers, upon the Rights of the People have heretofore always ended, and hereafter, if the Spirit of Liberty be not quite extinguished, must end in the Disturbance and Ruin, of such Kings or Ministers, as have presumed, or shall presume, to violate the Constitution, and some times have totally overturned the whole Frame of Government; none but the worst of Enemies can submit to such Incroachment, much less encourage or countenance it. And when it is considered, that the present *Royal Family* were called to the Head of our Government, by the Voice of a Brave, Free People, from Constitutional Principles, to stop the progress of Tyranny and the Subversion of the State, can there be a worse complement paid them, or a greater Injury offered them, than to strain

strain or extend the King's Power beyond the legal Bounds of the Prerogative, by which he has, already, every Power and Privilege necessary for supporting the Honor and Dignity of the Regal Office and the Royal Family, and for defending and preserving, but not for annoying, the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the Subjects? Who would not wish to continue under such a Government, where every Member must be free, if he be but Virtuous! But the Beauty and Excellency of this Constitution will more fully appear, when we come to open the two other Estates, which I shall endeavor to do in order.

I cannot conclude this Paper, my MOST BELOVED AND HONORED BRETHREN, without exulting in the Spirit of Liberty, which now appears predominant in all your public, as well, as private, Transactions. It affords a glorious Prospect of the Security and Continuance of our most excellent, our unparalleled Establishment. If you persevere, there is nothing more certain, than that you will restore the Freedom of Elections, in your City, if not in the whole Kingdom, by your Example; without which, your whole Frame of Government must hang in perpetual Jeopardy. It must be our own Faults if we do not vie with, nay, excell old *Athens* or *Rome*, in Sentiments of Liberty. For, besides the Advantages of a better civil Constitution, we have the glorious Light of the CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION, that inimitable *Charter* of ETERNAL LIBERTY, offered to all Men, to which the Antients were Strangers. By the proper Use and Application of these great Blessings, we may reasonably hope to excell the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as far as they surpassed all other People, in Virtue and Liberty. And if the Spirit that now appears, tho', yet, in its Infancy, among you, be duly cherished and supported, I see no Reason to doubt of the Name of a *Citizen of Dublin* becoming as *venerable*, as *sacred*, as ever that of an *Athenian* or *Roman* has been.

REMEMBER then, MY DEAREST FRIENDS, that every Member of our Community has an *Indefeazable hereditary Right* to Liberties and Privileges beyond those of any People upon Earth. That we are all by Law, as well, as by Nature, as FREE and as INDEPENDENT, as *Kings*; while we fulfill the Duties of our respective Stations and Provinces

Provinces in Life, and that OUR KING, in the Trust and Dignity of his Office, transcends all other Kings and Emperors on the Globe, as far as we excell all other Subjects in Liberty ; so that he may, not unjustly, be called a KING of KINGS, while most of the Mighty Monarchs of other Nations are, properly, but the *Masters* of some *Herds* of *Slaves*.

Let us now, MY BRETHREN, bless divine Providence ! By whose special Favor our Lot is cast in this Land of Liberty ; where every Man is, or may be, Free ; there being no legal Restraint on any, but unjust or evil Actions. Let us not be so brutishly selfish, as to content ourselves with the enjoyment of these Blessings, for the present, or in our own Persons ; but let us, like faithful Stewards, hand them entire, down to Posterity, as the best, the only valuable Inheritance we can leave them. This is the indispensable Duty of every individual, who would be looked upon, as a Christian, as a Citizen, or as a Man. The Task is, not only, easy, but delightful. It is but every Member's fulfilling the Duty of his allotted Station, asserting his Portion of Liberty, concurring, one with another, in the public Good, and seeing that every part of the Body Politic discharges its respective Function, faithfully, or within due Bounds, and all is, all must be well. Combine, MY BEST BELOVED FRIENDS, unite in the principles of Virtue, true Religion, Liberty and Loyalty ; so shall neither the Tyrants of this World, nor even the Gates of Hell ever be able to prevail against you. Which are the wishes and Prayers of,

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Your most affectionate Brother,

Dublin Oct.

21st. 1748.

and Fellow-Citizen,

and most Faithful Servant,

C. Lucas.

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